

PN-ACN-926

School, Home, Work, and Play

Adolescent Girls and Young Women

In East and Southern Africa



Population Council

Gender, Family and Development Program



November 2000

Dear Colleague:

Young people aged 10 to 24 constitute approximately one third of East and Southern Africa's population. Whereas there are terms in the English language to differentiate male and female children, and male and female adults, the terms demarcating the time between childhood and adulthood - 'adolescents,' 'youth,' and 'young people' - are gender-blind. These terms mask very real and sometimes stark disparities between boys and girls. While it is estimated that half of all HIV infections occur in young people aged 15 to 24, HIV infection in adolescent girls is at least twice that of boys, and possibly higher in East and Southern Africa. Gains in educational enrollment and attainment in sub-Saharan Africa are unquestionable. Yet, girls are still at a disadvantage compared to boys in most countries. Girls are significantly more likely to get married during adolescence than boys; the majority of girls will give birth to at least one child before age 20; and girls are more likely to drop out of school and less likely to enter a work world that is rewarding, positive and safe, compared to their male counterparts.

Despite this, much of the current thinking behind adolescent policy and programming homogenizes the experiences of girls and boys. Without a gendered and nuanced understanding of boys and girls in the region, programs seeking to improve their well being fall short of addressing their health and development needs and rights. Further, because the health and family planning fields have been active in examining adolescence, most of what we know about adolescent girls and boys is confined to the health sector. Yet, it is critical that we go beyond the health sector even when our goal is to improve the health status of adolescents.

These fact sheets attempt to broaden our understanding of girls and young women in East and Southern Africa. They focus on aspects of girls' lives that are often ignored, but are likely to be powerfully linked to reproductive health outcomes and long term well being. We have focused on sports and physical fitness because of the association between sports and self esteem and, in some studies from outside the region, between sports and delays in sexual initiation. We have focused on livelihood issues, both as a source of girls' exploitation, and as a potential source of young women's social mobility, economic power, and self-determination. Sexual violence is often ignored, even in public health circles, while girls' education has received a lot of attention but little in the way of what contributes to girls' early withdrawal from school. Finally, we have used data from Demographic and Health Surveys to map out girls' and boys' educational status, living arrangements, and marital status. These tables demonstrate that young people are not always attending school, not always living with parents, and are often married.

We hope that these fact sheets prove useful to program planners and policy makers and also contribute to enlightening the debate on how to improve the lives of adolescents in the region.



Annabel S. Erulkar
Gender, Family and Development Program

The Diversity of Girls and Boys

In East and Southern Africa



Much of the current thinking behind adolescent policy and programming makes assumptions about who adolescents are; what their needs are; and how best they can be reached. "Youth" are often considered as an undifferentiated mass, neglecting the great diversity within this group, a diversity that is manifested across countries in the region and in terms of school, work and marital status. The context-specific needs of young people vary dramatically across age, gender, social class, urban/rural divides, and socio-cultural dimensions. Yet the immediate connotation of "youth" is typically young people who are in school, unmarried, and living with their parents, overlooking the considerable proportion of adolescents who are out of school, possibly married, and often living without one or both parents - in fostering situations, as domestics, or on their own. For example, in East and Southern Africa, programs implemented in secondary schools are popular. Referring to tables provided here, we see that a program designed to reach adolescents through secondary schools will reach 32 percent of girls aged 15 to 19 in Zimbabwe, but only 10 percent of the 15 to 19 year old girls in Uganda, and 5 percent in Tanzania.

This briefing sheet contains data tabulated for specific countries in the East and Southern Africa Region, from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), which are nationally representative. Analysis examines adolescents' school status, marital status and living arrangements. For marital status, only data for girls is available. The data are a compelling reminder that the experience of adolescence is not at all uniform, whether across ages, between the sexes, or across countries.

Source of tables: Statistical Tables for Program Planning: Tabulations of Demographic and Health Surveys. 2000. New York: The Population Council.

"The few programmatic efforts to engage adolescents typically presuppose some permanence in their living situation and some reliable point of catchment; for example, adolescents are generally assumed to be living with their parents. Such assumptions may be mistaken."

Mensch, Barbara, Judith Bruce and Margaret Greene. 1998. *The Uncharted Passage: Girls' Adolescence in the Developing World*. New York: The Population Council.



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KENYA

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

School Status	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
	Boys (n = 2796)	Girls (n = 2888)	Boys (n = 1865)	Girls (n = 1903)
Not in School	7%	9%	38%	50%
Primary School	92%	90%	44%	36%
Secondary School	1%	1%	18%	14%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

	Boys (n = 1854)	Girls (n = 1487)
Resident Parent		
Lives with Both Parents	54%	49%
Lives with Father	5%	4%
Lives with Mother	26%	27%
Lives with Neither Parent	15%	20%

Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

Marital Status	Age 20-24 (n = 2919)
Married by Age 15	5%
Married by Age 18	25%
Married by Age 20	46%

Demographic and Health Survey 1993

TANZANIA

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

School Status	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
	Boys (n = 2654)	Girls (n = 2588)	Boys (n = 1774)	Girls (n = 1786)
Not in School	28%	27%	56%	70%
Primary School	72%	73%	41%	25%
Secondary School	0%	0%	3%	5%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

	Boys (n = 1438)	Girls (n = 1445)
Resident Parent		
Lives with Both Parents	52%	53%
Lives with Father	8%	6%
Lives with Mother	18%	18%
Lives with Neither Parent	22%	23%

Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

Marital Status	Age 20-24 (n = 3116)
Married by Age 15	7%
Married by Age 18	38%
Married by Age 20	60%

Demographic and Health Survey 1996



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UGANDA

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

School Status	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
	Boys (n = 2540)	Girls (n = 2558)	Boys (n = 1588)	Girls (n = 1740)
Not in School	20%	27%	49%	78%
Primary School	78%	71%	35%	12%
Secondary School	2%	2%	16%	10%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

Resident Parent	Boys (n = 1008)	Girls (n = 1039)
Lives with Both Parents	41%	41%
Lives with Father	13%	7%
Lives with Mother	17%	17%
Lives with Neither Parent	29%	35%



Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

Marital Status	Age 20-24 (n = 2825)
Married by Age 15	15%
Married by Age 18	54%
Married by Age 20	75%

Demographic and Health Survey 1995

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

School Status	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
	Boys (n = 1708)	Girls (n = 1907)	Boys (n = 1300)	Girls (n = 1191)
Not in School	29%	35%	44%	69%
Primary School	71%	65%	52%	27%
Secondary School	0%	0%	4%	4%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

Resident Parent	Boys (n = 937)	Girls (n = 960)
Lives with Both Parents	54%	48%
Lives with Father	5%	4%
Lives with Mother	18%	19%
Lives with Neither Parent	23%	29%

Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

Marital Status	Age 20-24 (n = 1716)
Married by Age 15	15%
Married by Age 18	55%
Married by Age 20	77%

Demographic and Health Survey 1996

MALAWI



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5

ZAMBIA

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
School Status	Boys (n = 2760)	Girls (n = 2840)	Boys (n = 2152)	Girls (n = 2226)
Not in School	24%	25%	47%	66%
Primary School	75%	72%	29%	15%
Secondary School	1%	3%	24%	19%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

	Boys (n = 1397)	Girls (n = 1371)
Resident Parent		
Lives with Both Parents	50%	48%
Lives with Father	8%	7%
Lives with Mother	16%	17%
Lives with Neither Parent	26%	28%

Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

	Age 20-24 (n = 3116)
Marital Status	
Married by Age 15	9%
Married by Age 18	44%
Married by Age 20	64%

Demographic and Health Survey 1996

ZIMBABWE

School Status of Boys and Girls by Age

	Age 10-14		Age 15-19	
School Status	Boys (n = 2270)	Girls (n = 2205)	Boys (n = 1695)	Girls (n = 1604)
Not in School	8%	9%	44%	61%
Primary School	86%	83%	14%	7%
Secondary School	6%	8%	42%	32%

Living Arrangements of Unmarried Boys and Girls Aged 10-14

	Boys (n = 989)	Girls (n = 935)
Resident Parent		
Lives with Both Parents	42%	41%
Lives with Father	6%	6%
Lives with Mother	27%	25%
Lives with Neither Parent	25%	28%

Percentage of Girls Married by Age 15,18,20

	Age 20-24 (n = 2184)
Marital Status	
Married by Age 15	6%
Married by Age 18	31%
Married by Age 20	52%

Demographic and Health Survey 1994



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Gender, Family and Development Program, Population Council, P.O. Box 17643, Nairobi, Kenya.

BARRIERS TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

In East and Southern Africa

"Fifty years after education was affirmed as a right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a decade after that right was reaffirmed... in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and nearly 10 years after girls' education was identified as 'the most urgent priority' at the World Conference on Education for All... girls around the globe cannot exercise their right to education as readily as can boys. Of the more than 130 million 6 to 11-year-olds out of school in the developing world, nearly two-thirds are girls."

UNICEF. 2000. "Educating girls: Changing lives for generations," <http://www.unicef.org/sowc99/features.htm>

Do families get in the way of girls' education?

"Whereas rural girls [in Africa] view education as a step toward greater independence, their families view it ambivalently. Although educating a girl can improve her family's economic well being through her remittances, they view it as a potential waste of valuable female subsistence labor if her school career, like that of many others, is terminated by a pregnancy. Education can also erode the family's control over her marital rights by giving her more economic options to fall back on if she refuses to marry the man her family has earmarked as a choice son-in-law."

Bledsoe, Caroline H. 1990. "School fees and the marriage process for Mende girls in Sierra Leone," in Peggy Reeves Sanday and Ruth Gallagher Goodenough (eds.), *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 283-309.

A study in rural Kenya revealed girls' early withdrawal from school often resulted from parents' fears that girls would get pregnant while in school, which eroded the girls' bride wealth payment.

Wamathi, Sheila Parvyn. 1992. *The Situation of the Female Child in Kenya*. Nairobi: UNICEF, The Kenya Alliance for the Advocacy for Children's Rights, and The Africa Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect.

A study in Malawi found that both parents and pupils believed that boys were more intelligent than girls, influencing parents' decisions whether or not to keep students in school. Seventy percent of mothers and 69 percent of fathers perceived that boys were more intelligent than girls; similarly, 85 percent of female pupils and 82 percent of male pupils believed the same.

Davison, Jean. 1993. "School attainment and gender: Attitudes of Kenyan and Malawian parents toward educating girls," *International Journal of Educational Development* 13(4): 331-338.

In Malawi, 68 percent of girls report that they are engaged in domestic duties compared to only 39 percent of boys. Among reasons parents gave for not sending girls to school was that girls are needed for their work in the home.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Bank. 1996. *Leveling the Playing Field: Giving Girls an Equal Chance for Basic Education: Three Countries' Efforts*. Washington DC: World Bank.

A qualitative study in Tanzania revealed that once girls reach puberty they fear being labeled as "too smart," considering intelligence and ambition unladylike and believing that potential husbands avoid intelligent women.

Khwaya, Grace and Tuli Kassimoto. 1994. "Girls in education—and pregnancy at school," in Zubeida Tumbo-Masabo and Rita Liljestrom (eds.), *Chelewa, Chelewa: The Dilemma of Teenage Girls*. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp.54-75.



"The evidence of significant returns to female education includes reduced fertility, reduced infant and maternal mortality, enhanced family health and welfare, improved children's education, and increased agricultural productivity, earnings and overall economic productivity for women and the larger economy."

Odaga, Adhiambo, and Ward Heneveld. 1995. *Girls and schools in sub-Saharan Africa: From analysis to action*, World Bank Technical Paper no. 298. Washington, DC.



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School curriculum—does it play a role?

In a study comparing the portrayal of men and women in Kenyan textbooks, the author found that men are portrayed as active and energetic, engaged in work and earning cash. On the other hand, women are depicted in the home, doing domestic chores and unremunerated. The author notes that women are rarely portrayed handling money, despite the fact that a growing proportion of households in Kenya are headed by women.

Obura, Anna P. 1991. *Changing Images: Portrayal of Girls and Women in Kenyan Textbooks*. Nairobi: ACTS Press.

A review of educational texts in Malawi revealed significant differences in the numbers of references to men and women as well as the way they were portrayed. In the texts reviewed, there were over 300 references to men and only 17 references to women. Women who were represented were portrayed as crying, holding babies, or carrying water while men were shown in high-status managerial jobs.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Bank. 1996. *Leveling the Playing Field: Giving Girls an Equal Chance for Basic Education: Three Countries' Efforts*. Washington DC: World Bank.

Do teachers contribute to the problem?

In a study conducted in 36 primary schools and 15 secondary schools in three districts in Kenya, among teachers who had a preference, the overwhelming preference was for teaching boys. An average of 22 percent of primary school teachers preferred teaching boys, while only 5 percent had a preference for girls. Surprisingly, the preference to teach boys was stronger among female teachers than among male teachers.

Ajayi, Ayorinde, Wesley Clark, Annabel Erulkar, Karin Hyde, Cynthia Lloyd, Barbara Mensch, Cecilia Ndeti, and Barry Ravitch. 1997. *Schooling and the Experience of Adolescents in Kenya*. Nairobi: Kenya Ministry of Education and Population Council.

In a study in 10 secondary schools in Uganda, 82 percent of female teachers and 76 percent of male teachers felt that mathematics is more difficult for girls compared to boys.

Mfou, Rose Eboutou, Georgina Quaisie, Verdiana Masanja, and Jane Mulemwa. 1998. *Teachers' Attitudes to the Study of Science, Mathematics and Technical Subjects by Girls in Secondary Schools*. Female Education in Mathematics and Science in Africa (FEMSA) Dissemination Report no. 7. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

During classroom observations in a four-country study in Cameroon, Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda, teachers were observed giving boys more time to answer questions and posing them higher-order questions, compared to girls. Girls were often embarrassed. For example, teachers used girls as teaching aids when lecturing on reproductive physiology.

Mfou, Rose Eboutou, Georgina Quaisie, Verdiana Masanja, and Jane Mulemwa. 1998. *Teachers' Attitudes to the Study of Science, Mathematics and Technical Subjects by Girls in Secondary Schools*. Female Education in Mathematics and Science in Africa (FEMSA) Dissemination Report no. 7. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

Are schools safe for and supportive of girls?

The quality of toilet facilities and the availability of water may affect girls' school attendance. A young woman who is menstruating needs to change her pad, wool, or rags during the school day, meaning that private toilet facilities should be available, as well as water for hand-washing. A study in Kenyan schools found that toilet facilities in the schools visited were "neither clean, functional, nor secure from observation." In this study, boys were observed "hanging around girls' toilets" and one deputy head teacher remarked that boys are "cheeky" around the girls' toilets.

Mensch, Barbara S. and Cynthia B. Lloyd. 1997. "Gender differences in the schooling experiences of adolescents in low-income countries: The case of Kenya," *Studies in Family Planning* 29(2): 167-184.

A research project in Malawi found that girls in coeducational schools are in the minority—averaging less than one-third of the student body—and are generally younger than their male counterparts. In these schools, teasing and harassment of girls is not uncommon: intelligent girls are teased for being unfeminine, and girls who are not considered intelligent are also teased.

Hyde, Karen A.L. 1993. *Gender Streaming as a Strategy for Improving Girls' Academic Performance: Evidence from Malawi*. Lilongwe: University of Malawi, Centre for Social Research.

In July 1991, in a secondary school in Meru, Kenya, 19 schoolgirls were killed and 71 others were raped by fellow male students in violence prompted by a protest over school fees. The school principal reported to *The Kenya Times* that schoolboys raping schoolgirls was a "common occurrence" at the school. The deputy principal was quoted as saying, "The boys never meant any harm against the girls. They just wanted to rape."

Perlez, Jane. 1991. "Kenians do some soul-searching after the rape of 71 schoolgirls." *The New York Times*, July 29.

What can be done?

Educate girls, boys, parents, teachers, and communities on the importance of girls' education, including its positive returns to the girls themselves, their families, future families, and communities.

Create education policies that promote the safety and support of girls in schools at the level of teacher training, school curricula, and school facilities.

Research the quality of schooling including the experiences of boys and girls, as well as teacher attitudes and practices.

There was a group of girls sitting near the door who were quiet throughout the lessons, and she [the teacher] kept pointing at them saying "Let sleeping dogs lie."

—Classroom Observer's notes

Mensch, Barbara S. and Cynthia B. Lloyd. 1997. "Gender differences in the schooling experiences of adolescents in low-income countries: The case of Kenya." *Policy Research Division Working Paper* no. 95. New York: Population Council.

Boys come and hold our breasts in class even when the teacher is there; he [the teacher] pretends that he is packing something.

—Participant in focus group of girls aged 15-19 years, Kilifi, Kenya

Mensch, Barbara S. and Cynthia B. Lloyd. 1997. "Gender differences in the schooling experiences of adolescents in low-income countries: The case of Kenya." *Studies in Family Planning* 29(2): 167-184.

YOUNG WOMEN'S LIVELIHOODS

In East and Southern Africa



"By their midteens, most girls in Africa are hard at work. For them, the period between childhood and adulthood is exceedingly short. . . . By 20, the vast majority of men are in the labor force, and most women are in the labor force, or raising at least one child, or both."

Bledsoe, Caroline H. and Barney Cohen (eds.). 1993. *Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

Many young women are economically active, either seeking employment or already working

The economically active population or labour force is a subset of the population and includes all people in a given age bracket who are seeking to be, or actually are, engaged in the production of goods and services.

In Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia more than half of all girls between the ages of 15 and 19 years are in the labour force. In Kenya, over 90 percent of rural girls and one-third of urban girls 15 to 19-years-old are in the labour force.

Central Bureau of Statistics. 1995. *Women and Men in East, Central, and Southern Africa: Facts and Figures, 1995*. Nairobi, Kenya: Central Bureau of Statistics.

Sebstad, Jennifer. 1991. "Gender and employment in Kenya: Analysis of the 1998 rural and urban labour force surveys," unpublished report presented to the Government of Kenya's Ministry of Planning and National Development, Long Range Planning Project.

Girls' paid and unpaid work is important and valued especially in poor households. In some cases, it is critical for household survival. In a study in Tanzania, a main reason that respondents mentioned for coming to Dar es Salaam, was to earn money to support their families. One respondent said she had "fled" the hunger in her village but also wanted to send some money back home to help feed her family.

Kibuga, K.F. in collaboration with UNICEF. 2000. "Rapidly assessing children at work in Tanzania," draft report.

Young women's earliest work experiences are often through unpaid family labour, domestic service, or informal sector work

In Kenya, over one-third of working girls between the ages of 15 and 19, and more than 50 percent of young women 20 to 24-years-old earn income through self employment in informal sector activities.

National Council for Population and Development, Central Bureau of Statistics (Kenya Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Planning and National Development), and Macro International. 1999. *Kenya Demographic and Health Survey, 1998*. Calverton, MD: NCPD, CBS, and ML.

Sixty-eight percent of girls in Malawi reported engaging in domestic chores compared to 39 percent of boys. Girls assist their mothers mainly with fetching water, hauling wood, and grinding maize.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Bank. 1996. *Leveling the Playing Field: Giving Girls an Equal Chance for Basic Education—Three Countries' Efforts*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Throughout the region, large proportions of young women work in part-time, casual, and seasonal jobs, which reflects their marginal status in the labour force. In Zambia and Zimbabwe, for instance, nearly one-third of young women aged 20 to 24-years-old are engaged in these types of work.

Central Statistical Office and Ministry of Health (Zambia) and Macro International. 1997. *Zambia Demographic and Health Survey, 1996*. Calverton, MD: Central Statistical Office and Macro International.

Central Statistical Office (Zimbabwe) and Macro International. 1995. *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey, 1994*. Calverton, MD: Central Statistical Office and Macro International.

"Legitimate income-generating work could transform the nature of girls' adolescent experience. . . . [I]t could help to reframe the second decade of girls' lives as a transitional period prior to marriage and childbearing, in which girls have a chance to develop as individuals and gain knowledge and skills to lay the foundation for a more satisfying and productive adulthood."

Mensch, B.S., J. Bruce, and M.E. Greene. 1998. *The Uncharted Passage: Girls' Adolescence in the Developing World*. New York: Population Council.



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Young women's income generating experiences can have important social, economic, and health benefits

The consequences of girls' and young women's early labour force participation are not all negative. The opportunity to work and earn an income, especially for those aged 15 or older, can be a positive experience.

"A decade of research also confirms that when women earn and control their income, they are more likely than men to invest in their family's health, nutrition, and education."

International Center for Research on Women. 1997. "Where credit is due: Poor women and financial services." *ICRW Global Factsheet*. Washington, DC: ICRW.

A study in Zambia noted that the participation of out-of-school adolescent girls and boys in a credit scheme enabled many of them to make important contributions to their families in terms of food and school fees for siblings and relatives. One female loan recipient, in response to being asked how she had changed her sexual behaviour, stated, "Now I have my own money instead of asking men."

Fetters, Tamara, Munkonze Fines, and Julie Solo. 1999. "Investing in youth: Testing community-based approaches for improving adolescent sexual and reproductive health care." CARE Zambia and Population Council Africa OR/TA Project II.

Despite the potential benefits, young women face many constraints in the work world

The pressure to work combined with increasing competition for fewer jobs channels young women into a narrow range of low paying, low status, and irregular jobs. Young women also face the challenge of higher rates of unemployment, gender disparities, lack of access to productive resources, and a limited range of livelihood skills.

In a survey in Kenya, 78 percent of female domestic workers reported being paid "in kind," usually in the form of an occasional new dress or pair of shoes. Only 17 percent reported that they were paid in cash. In the same study, only 17 percent of respondents said that they were given a day off.

Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre in collaboration with OXFAM. 1997. "Domestic child workers: Selected case studies on the situation of the girl-child domestic workers." Working Paper Series no. 1. Nairobi, Kenya: Sinaga Women and Child Labour Resource Centre.

Girls and young women often train in such traditionally "feminine" courses as home economics, garment making, and secretarial studies that further constrain their livelihood options in the labour market. A 1999 study in Kenya found that only 4 percent of female students in seven technical training institutions were enrolled in technically oriented courses such as mechanical engineering, plumbing, electrical engineering, and carpentry and joinery.

Ngau, M.M. 1999. "Female marginalization in vocational and technical education in Kenya." *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review* 15(1): 53-75.

Gender disparity in the work world is a constraint women workers face throughout their working lives, and it begins at an early age. In a 1997 study in Kenya, out-of-school girls reported spending about 7 hours a day, on average, on domestic tasks while out-of-school boys spend only 50 minutes on similar duties. Instead, boys concentrate on activities such as paid employment and working in family enterprises.

Ajayi, Ayorinde, Wesley Clark, Annabel Erulkar, Karin Hyde, Cynthia Lloyd, Barbara Mensch, Cecelia Ndeti, and Barry Ravitch. 1997. *Schooling and the Experience of Adolescents in Kenya*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Ministry of Education and Population Council.

Unfortunately, because of poverty and lack of alternatives, girls are sometimes forced to work under exploitative and hazardous conditions. In Tanzania, domestic workers reported that they were often forced to have sex with their employers and relatives of their employers.

Kibuga, K.F. in collaboration with UNICEF. 2000. "Rapidly assessing children at work in Tanzania," draft report.

What can be done?

Strengthen young women's livelihood skills; improve their access to productive resources; and increase opportunities for young women's involvement in appropriate income-generating activities.

Improve working conditions and reduce exploitative practices.

Identify and promote livelihood strategies that are effective, sustainable, and reach a significant number of young women.

Gender, Family and Development Program, Population Council, P.O. Box 17643, Nairobi, Kenya.

My experience is if I have money of my own, I cannot borrow [from] anybody. I can do my own things; for example, I can join a women's group. If I have my own business, I don't have to go to people with my problems.

-Participant in focus group of girls aged 16 - 24, Nairobi, Kenya.

Erulkar, A. and B. Khan. 1999. "Livelihoods and lifestyles of adolescent girls in Nairobi: Baseline report of a pilot savings and micro-credit project." Nairobi, Kenya: Population Council.

[In the past] I couldn't leave him [husband] because I was depending on him for everything. But now he respects me because if he slaps me he knows I will leave him since I have the money.

-24-year-old self employed young woman in Nairobi.

Population Council transcripts of in-depth interviews with girls aged 16-24 in Nairobi, Kenya. 1999.



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GIRLS AND SPORTS

In East and Southern Africa



"One of the essential conditions for the effective exercise of human rights is that everyone should be free to develop and preserve his or her physical, intellectual, and moral powers, and that access to physical education and sport should consequently be assured and guaranteed for all human beings."

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). 1978. Preamble to *International Charter of Physical Education and Sport*. Adopted by the General Conference at its twentieth session, Paris, 21 November.

Why sports for girls and young women?

Regular physical activity and sports participation can reduce girls' risk of many chronic diseases of adulthood; female athletes tend to do better academically and have lower school dropout rates than their nonathletic counterparts; and regular physical activity can enhance girls' mental health, reducing symptoms of stress and depression and improving self-esteem.

President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. 1997. *Physical Activity and Sport in the Lives of Girls: Report: Physical and Mental Health Dimensions from an Interdisciplinary Approach*. Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services.

A study among Kenyan secondary school students found that girls who participate in sports had significantly higher self-image compared to girls who did not participate.

Kelly, P. 1981. "Self-images and attitudes towards participation in physical activities among eleven- to sixteen-year-old girls in a Kenyan secondary school," Master's thesis, University of Manchester.

Results from two surveys in the United States showed that female teenage athletes were less than half as likely to get pregnant compared to nonathletes, with 5 percent of athletes in the sample reporting a pregnancy compared to 11 percent of the nonathletes. Further, sexual initiation for athletes was significantly later than for nonathletes.

Sabo, D., K. Miller, M. Farrell, G. Barnes, and M. Melnick. 1998. *The Women's Sports Foundation Report: Sport and Teen Pregnancy*. East Meadow, NY: Women's Sports Foundation.

Study findings among South African female university students indicated that participation in a low-impact aerobic dance programme resulted in an improvement in health-related fitness among participants.

Walter, C.M. and R.A. Stretch. 1996. "The effect of low-impact aerobic dance on the health-related fitness of female university students," *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance (AJPHERD)*. 2(1): 18-31.

What's keeping girls from playing sports?

Girls often have limited access to physical activity and sports opportunities in schools. Frequently, they are treated differently from boys in terms of teacher attention and interaction, access to experienced teachers and coaches, access to facilities and equipment, and funding, sponsorship, and media attention.

American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance and National Association for Girls and Women in Sport. 1995. *Gender Equity Through Physical Education and Sport*. Reston, VA: National Association for Girls and Women in Sport.

*[Before playing football]
I was fearful, now I am
not because I am used
to mixing with people. I
know what is good and
what is bad.*

—15-year-old female football player,
Mathare Youth Sports Association,
Nairobi

Population Council transcripts of in-depth interviews with girls aged 10-18 in Nairobi, Kenya, 2000.

*I have learnt how to
have my own principles
and not be blown and
tossed around by the
wind.*

—18-year-old female football player,
Mathare Youth Sports Association,
Nairobi

Population Council transcripts of in-depth interviews with girls aged 10-18 in Nairobi, Kenya, 2000.



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In a study conducted in Central Province, Kenya, in-school boys and girls reported similar levels of participation in sports (57 percent of boys and 44 percent of girls). However, while participation in sports among out-of-school boys is only slightly less than that of in-school boys (52 percent), only 2 percent of out-of-school girls reported being involved in sports. Authors cited lack of sporting opportunities for out-of-school girls as one possible reason.

Brulkar, Annabel S., J.P.M. Karuru, George Kaggwa, Nzioki King'ola, and Fredrick Nyagah. 1998. *Adolescent Experiences and Lifestyles in Central Province, Kenya*. Nairobi: Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya.

Few Kenyan women receive advanced training in physical education. At Kenyatta University—the only institution in Kenya awarding degrees in physical education—only 19 percent of students enrolled in the physical education program were female. Women account for only 16 percent of physical education teachers in Kenyan universities.

Achola, P. and W.W.S. Njororai. 1999. "Demystifying the ideology of masculinity in sports: A challenge to Kenyan women in the 21st century," paper presented at the Kenyatta University Culture Week Seminar, Nairobi, 22 September.

A review of the South Africa experience found that female sport is seldom televised during prime-time viewing hours, resulting in women being socialized to be supporters of predominantly male sports, such as rugby, cricket, and soccer.

Burnett, C. 1999. "Keep politics and women out of sports': A sociological enquiry into South African sport," in L.O. Amusa, A.L. Toriola, and I.U. Onyewadume (eds.), *Physical Education and Sport in Africa*. Ibadan: LAP Publications.

In a study in Botswana, 97 percent of student respondents regarded sports as the business of men. About two-thirds of both male and female respondents felt that young women should avoid sports because of the possibility of damaging the female reproductive system. About one-third of female respondents reported that their husbands and boyfriends discourage them from participating in sports.

Adeyemi, M.B. 1999. "Factors militating against the effective participation of girls and women in sports in Botswana," in L.O. Amusa, A.L. Toriola, and I.U. Onyewadume (eds.), *Physical Education and Sport in Africa*. Ibadan: LAP Publications.

What's the good news?

More and more, girls and women, globally, are engaged in sports; and sports is appearing on government agendas worldwide. Many developing countries have Ministries of Sports or Ministries of Youth and Sports dedicated to implementing national sports policies and programs.

Brady, Mariha. 1998. "Laying the foundation for girls' healthy futures: Can sports play a role?" *Studies in Family Planning* 29(1): 79–82.

In 1991, the Zambia government published "Vision 2000 Sport for All." Under this initiative, the Ministry of Education is promoting the teaching of physical education in all schools, with the goal that schoolgirls and schoolboys have equal opportunities, access, and support in sport.

United Kingdom Sports Council and International Working Group on Women and Sport. 1998. *Women and Sport: From Brighton to Windhoek: Facing the Challenge*. London: United Kingdom Sports Council.

A record number of women from around the world competed in the 1996 Olympic games. In the 2000 Sydney Olympic games, for the first time in Olympics history women competed in the same number of team sports as men.

International Olympic Committee (IOC). 2000. "Women in the Olympic movement." http://www.olympic.org/ioc/e/org/women/women_jo_e.html

What can be done?

Promote regular physical education activities for girls in schools.

Promote family and community support for girls and young women to play sports, even after girls have finished school.

Provide convenient, safe and adequate space for girls and young women to play sports.

Reverse the myth that sports are only for boys and men.

"Women's experiences, values, and attitudes can enrich, enhance, and develop sport. Similarly, participation in sports can enrich, enhance, and develop women's lives."

Sports Council (Great Britain) and International Working Group on Women and Sport. 1994. *Women, Sport, and the Challenge of Change: The Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport*. London: Sports Council.



SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST GIRLS AND YOUNG WOMEN

In East and Southern Africa



"Sexual coercion exists along a continuum, from forcible rape to nonphysical forms of pressure that compel girls and women to engage in sex against their will. The touchstone of coercion is that a woman lacks choice and faces severe physical or social consequences if she resists sexual advances... During childhood young girls can become easy targets for older male relatives or friends who obtain sex through force or deception. Later, boyfriends, teachers, relatives, or other men in authority may force young women into unwanted sexual encounters."

Heise, L., M. Ellsberg, and M. Gottensoeller. 1999. "Ending violence against women." *Population Reports, Series L: Issues in World Health* 11: 1-43.

The earliest sexual experiences of young women are often not voluntary, not pleasurable, and may be violent...

Sexual intercourse that results from force or coercion appears to be more common among adolescents than among adults... "Power disparities based on economics, age and gender make adolescent girls more vulnerable than adult women to exploitative and coercive sexual practices..."

Gage, Anastasia J. 1998. "Sexual activity and contraceptive use: The components of the decisionmaking process." *Studies in Family Planning* 29, no. 2: 154-166.

In a study among Kenyan secondary school students, 18 percent of girls who have had sex said they were "tricked," or coerced, into their first intercourse, while 24 percent were forced into their first encounter. These data suggest that, for over 40 percent of girls in this large sample, sexual initiation was unwanted and not voluntary.

Youri, P (ed). 1994. *Female adolescent health and sexuality in Kenyan secondary schools: A survey report*. Nairobi: African Medical and Research Foundation.

In Zimbabwe, 33 percent of rural girls and 12 percent of urban girls reported that their first intercourse was forced or coerced. Regarding lifetime experiences, nearly one-quarter of the urban girls reported that they had been raped at some time in the past. In the same study, 73 percent of the rural girls said that they felt "sad" after they had sex for the first time, which is partly attributable to the extent of violence or coercion they faced. Conversely, only 15 percent of boys in the sample reported that they felt "sad" after their first sexual intercourse.

Phiri, Alford and Annabel S. Erulkar. 2000. *Experiences of Youth in Urban Zimbabwe*. Nairobi: Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council and Population Council.

_____. 2000. *Experiences of Youth in Rural Zimbabwe*. Nairobi: Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council and Population Council.

In a study in Kenya, when asked about the most recent time they were approached for sex, 37 percent of respondents said that they were offered money or gifts, 22 percent reported that force was used or attempted, and 16 percent reported being threatened.

Erulkar, Annabel S., J.P.M. Karuru, George Kagwa, Nzioka King'ola, and Fredrick Nyagah. 1998. *Adolescent Experiences and Lifestyles in Central Province, Kenya*. Nairobi: Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya.

In a study of 400 primary school students selected from 40 schools in Kabale District, Uganda, nearly half (49 percent) of sexually active girls reported having been forced to have sexual intercourse, while 22 percent had been given gifts in exchange for sex.

Bagarukayo, Henry, Dean Shucy, Bernadette Babishangire and Karin Johnson. 1993. "An operational study relating to sexuality and AIDS prevention among primary school students in Kabale District of Uganda". Entebbe, Uganda. Cited in Heise, Lori, Kirsten Moore, and Nahid Toubia. 1995. *Sexual Coercion and Reproductive Health: A Focus on Research*. New York: Population Council.

Sexual violence is a global problem. In countries where data are available, it is estimated that between 12 and 25 percent of women have experienced forced sex by an intimate partner.

World Health Organization. 2000. "Violence against women" *WHO Fact Sheet* no. 239. <http://www.who.int/inf-fs/en/fact239.html>

I continue [having sex] because he beats me up so badly that I regret I said 'no' in the first place.

Wood, Katherine and Rachel Jewkes. 1997. "Violence, rape and sexual coercion: Everyday love in a South African township." *Gender and Development*, 5 (2): 41-46.



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In a study to gauge contraceptive use among high school students in Kenya, when young women who are sexually active were asked their main reason for not using family planning, 9 percent reported that sex had been forced.

Kiragu, Karungari and Laurie S. Zabin. 1995. "Contraceptive use among high school students in Kenya." *International Family Planning Perspectives*. 21(3): 108-113.

Violence is often a reality of young women's intimate relationships with men...

In a qualitative study among pregnant teenagers aged 14-18 in Cape Town, South Africa, respondents reported that their partners use violent strategies throughout the relationship, even initiating the partnership with violence and using physical assault to maintain the relationship. Respondents described being beaten with belts, sticks and shoes if they refused to have sex.

Wood, Katherine and Rachel Jewkes. 1997. "Violence, rape and sexual coercion: Everyday love in a South African township." *Gender and Development*, 5, (2): 41-46.

In a clinic-based study in Kwa Zulu Natal, South Africa, one of the main reasons that girls did not discuss HIV/AIDS with partners was because of fear of violence: "No, we don't discuss AIDS. I'm scared of him because he used to beat me. So I don't want to talk about things that might make him upset."

Varga, Christine. 1997. "Sexual decision-making and negotiation in the midst of AIDS: Youth in KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa." *Health Transition Review*: 7 (suppl 3): 45-67.

In a matched case control study of pregnant and non-pregnant teenagers under the age of 19 years in Cape Town, South Africa, pregnant teens were significantly more likely to have been raped by their partners than non-pregnant girls in the study.

Jewkes, Rachel, Caesar Vundule, Fidelia Maforah, and Esme Jordaan. 2000. "Relationship dynamics and adolescent pregnancy in South Africa." *Social Science and Medicine*, forthcoming.

Girls and young women are most often raped or coerced by people they know...

In a study among 1219 primary schoolgirls in Tanzania, virtually all respondents reported that they have been bothered for sex by classmates, older men, or teachers, with three quarters of the girls reporting that male classmates bother them most frequently.

Mgalla, Zaida, Dick Schapink, and J. Ties Boerma. 1998. "Protecting School Girls Against Sexual Exploitation: A Guardian Programme in Mwanza, Tanzania." *Reproductive Health Matters*. Volume 6. No 12: 19 - 30.

In a study in Central Province, Kenya, when asked about the last time they had propositioned a girl for sex, 32 percent of adolescent boys reported offering the girl money or gifts, 10 percent admitted to having used force, and 6 percent admitted having used threats.

Erulkar, Annabel S., J.P.M. Karuemu, George Kaggwa, Nzioka King'ola, and Fredrick Nyagah. 1998. *Adolescent Experiences and Lifestyles in Central Province, Kenya*. Nairobi: Population Council and Family Planning Association of Kenya.

In July 1991, in a secondary school in Meru, Kenya, 19 schoolgirls were killed and 71 others were raped by fellow male students in violence prompted by a protest over school fees. The school principal reported to *The Kenya Times* that school boys raping schoolgirls was a "common occurrence," at the school. The deputy principal was quoted as saying, "The boys never meant any harm against the girls. They just wanted to rape."

Perlez, Jane. 1991. "Kenyans do some soul-searching after the rape of 71 schoolgirls." *The New York Times*, July 29.

What can be done?

Educate girls and young women on gender-based violence; and inform them of their sexual and reproductive rights, personal assistance available and legal protection.

Educate boys and men on the rights of girls and women.

Strengthen community, program and legal mechanisms through which girls and young women can exercise their sexual and reproductive rights or obtain assistance when those rights are violated.

Research the context in which sexual activity occurs for young women and men, with a view to making the content of programs respond to the realities of girls' and boys' lives.

Gender, Family, and Development Program, Population Council, P.O. Box 17643, Nairobi, Kenya.

***We seduce them at first,
but if they remain
adamant we force them.***

- Focus group participant in Kenya,
Boys age 12-19

Mensch, Barbara S. 1996 "Locating adolescence: An overview of adolescents' reproductive behavior and its social context." Presented at World Bank meeting *Take Back Young Lives: Investing in Adolescents*, Washington, DC, April.

***He wanted us to have
sex and I refused.***

What happened?

***He forced me to have
sex with him ... He said
that I was proud but
that that day he had got
me.***

- 15 year old girl, Nakuru district Kenya

Erulkar, Annabel, Barry Ravitch, and Barbara Mensch. 2000. *Young people's experiences with sexual initiation: Voices from Kenya*, unpublished report.